1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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in one tree, but a really large tree would hold even more. The pigeons were hunted in the following manner: Long poles were taken and the pigeons poked out of their nests. In this manner many would be killed very easily in one day. They are then either broiled or steeped, when they have a delicious taste. Often it is unnecessary to hunt for them after a storm because large quantities die from exposure to inclement weather. 223 [252]

Method of slaughtering animals.—According to most of the author's informants, all larger animals were opened by making two long incisions, one on each side of the chest. This information may be accepted as correct with respect to the bear, but there is less certainty as to other large animals. There are two considerations, however, which seem to make the question of agreement among informants of secondary importance: First, the considerable differences in this and kindred matters among the settlements of the Winnebago, due to the large extent of territory they inhabited and the diverse influences potent at various places; and secondly, the fact that the distribution of food was entirely a matter of courtesy between individuals, so that considerable variation in custom was both possible and probable. 252 224

According to one informant the man who killed an animal had the least to say about its distribution and generally got the poorest share. This unquestionably does not give a very accurate impression of the custom, because subsequent questioning brought out clearly the fact that the manner of distribution depended entirely on the number of individuals present at the killing of the animal, and also on the age of these individuals and their social standing. Remembering that there is no "typical" division which an Indian thinks of in the abstract, but that he always has in mind particular instances of distribution, in order to ascertain definite rules it would obviously be necessary to obtain an adequate number of representative cases in which all the possibilities based on the factors of age, number, and social standing would be duly considered. 224 425

From another individual the following information was obtained: When two people went hunting the man who killed the animal received the head, breast, feet, lungs, and heart; his companion, the hide and the rest of the animal. A feast was given afterwards, however, at which the bravest warrior received all that was properly the share of the man who killed the animal. When four went out, the eldest always got the hide; he was granted also the right to apportion the animal. This last instance seems significant in view of the fact that at the tribal hunt the rights of the individual who killed the animal were subservient to many other rights, as those pertaining to seniority and social standing, and suggests that only when one or two individuals took the rather great risks of hunting by themselves was actual killing of the animal deemed of predominating importance in the apportionment.

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241 [778] In the middle of the field was usually placed an earthen representation of the clan animal. As to how squash and beans were planted, no reliable information is available. The corn was planted in small circular mounds which, to judge from those near Madison, Wis., were arranged in remarkably straight rows.

[442 177] The author is unable to say what type of implements was used, as the Winnebago have been using those of European manufacture for many years and have no recollection of any other kind.

241 527 782 If anyone had more corn planted than he could take care of he gave a feast, to which he invited all who had hoes. At this feast dried corn was used. On this occasion the people sacrificed tobacco to their hoes, so that they might not cut themselves with these implements or have other accidents. Then they all joined in helping their host cultivate his corn.

249 In addition to the above-mentioned patches, most Winnebago had small fields of tobacco, which were regarded as very sacred. The tobacco grown on these was used only for sacrificial purposes. Sacred gourds also were planted in these fields.

222 *Berry picking.*—From the earliest times the Winnebago were known for their bountiful supply of berries. Every fall parties of men, women, and children went out to pick cranberries and whortleberries.

222 787 *Customs when berries are ripening.*—If a man has a son whom he loves very much, he has him fast as soon as the berries and other things begin to ripen. If this boy dreams of something good, then he (the father) gives a feast with the newly ripened food and the boy eats. If the boy does not dream of anything good after four days, the father makes him eat and has him try again.

222 *Rice gathering.*—In common with the Central Algonquian tribes, with whom they have come in contact, especially the Menominee, the Winnebago spent a number of weeks every year gathering wild rice. The following description of the manner in which this is done is taken from a newspaper article published by Prof. A. E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota:

> Fox River from its source to Lake Winnebago was for hundreds of years a very productive field for this aquatic cereal, and along this river the Winnebago lived in plenty and peace with several wild rice eating tribes of the Algonkin stock. Probably a few families still gather their annual crop in that old domain; but most of the wild rice which the tribe now gathers is obtained in the sloughs of the Mississippi River near Lacrosse, Wis., and on the Iowa side of that river.
>
> The Winnebago gather the grain by running their canoes into the tall standing stalks before the grain is ripe. A stick is held in each hand of the harvester, one being used to draw the standing stalks over the edge of the canoe, while the other one is employed in tapping or striking the heads of the stalks, thus knocking the grain out of the fruit head into the canoe. After the canoe is full it is taken to the shore and emptied.

252 262 *Preparation of foods.*—Meats were prepared by broiling, in three ways—on stakes, over a rack, or under hot ashes. Only the ribs

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and the breast of most animals were considered good portions, but the head of the deer was included. Other portions were eaten, however. For infants the deer's tail was considered a delicacy. Now, when they eat meat provided by the white man, rib roast of beef is the favorite meat of the Winnebago.

The Winnebago were very fond of soups of all descriptions. Most of these were meat soups with the addition of vegetables or berries.

Most time was, however, spent in the preparation of vegetable foods, especially in the preparation of wild rice and corn. For the preparation of rice I will again quote Professor Jenks's article:

> At this stage of the harvest when the Winnebago gather the wild rice, the kernel is very like a long oat and has a tenacious hull, which must be removed before the grain can be eaten. The necessity of removing this hull and the unripe condition of the grain make it necessary to dry it artificially. This is usually done by spreading the kernels yet inclosed in the hull upon a rack of lattice work, under which a slow fire is kept burning. The grain is cured and the hull made brittle by the heat and smoke. The next process is the threshing. The Winnebago thrashes the grain by the use of a most primitive flail. He spreads a blanket, rush mat, or deerskin on the ground, upon which he puts the now cured grain. Along three sides of the blanket he erects a screen of similar material. At the open side of this screen the man squats on his knees, and beats the grain with a straight stick in each hand, thus releasing it from the hull. When it has been threshed the woman gathers up the contents of the blanket and winnows the mass by letting it fall from a vessel held high in the air upon a blanket or mat laid on the earth, the wind blows away the chaff from the falling grain and leaves the clean kernels.

The Winnebago distinguished a number of different kinds of corn, the principal ones being *wahi'xexete*, yellow-stalked; *hiwaxalona*, sweet corn; and *waxuc'tke*, red-colored corn. The cornstalk was called *waha'*, the corn proper, *witca'ⁿwaⁿs*, and the cob, *wan'k'*. The corn is pounded on a rack (*wnick'*) and then shelled, the grain falling through the rack and the cobs remaining on top. After being shelled the corn is steamed. Then the stones necessary for cooking it are gathered and the corn is picked. When this is finished, a hole is dug in the ground and red-hot stones are put in. Over this the husks are put and upon these the corn; then another layer of husks, etc. The top always is covered with husks. Four holes are made through the husks, into which four pails of water are poured and the whole is covered with a thick layer of earth and the corn left there overnight. The next morning it will be entirely cooked.

In shelling, the outer part of an oyster shell is used. When the shelling is over the corn is spread out and dried.

Squash is prepared as follows: After the skin has been removed the squash is cut into slices and the seeds taken out; the slices of squash are then put on poles to dry. The dried squash is called *hotca'ⁿwaⁿdaxus*. There are two varieties of this vegetable—*witca'ⁿwaⁿ*, Hubbard squash, and *witca'ⁿwansik*, small-kernel squash.

Fruit was dried, but by what process the author has not learned.

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252 262 In addition to the vegetable foods above referred to, the following may be mentioned: *Teera'pxra*, a plant growing in the water, the root of which was eaten boiled with meat; *xoknixera* and *hu^{a}ixk boi'dja*, awl plant and peavine, respectively, of which only the roots were eaten; and finally the *dora*, wild potato, a favorite dish. The skin was peeled off; then the potato was dried in the sun and afterwards boiled. *Na^{a}pa'k'*, chokecherries, were eaten raw. *P^{a}aykxi'* and *ma^{a}hi'nte*, a lowland weed, and the milkweed, respectively, were also utilized. Of the former, the boiled root was eaten; of the latter, the boiled head. Small quantities of food which required grinding were put into a squirrel hide from which the hairs had been removed, and were pounded with a stone. A mill consisting of a dug-out trunk with handles attached was also used.

251 415 [531 422] *Preservation of food.*—In former times meat was hung on long racks for preservation. Corn was cached (*woxe'*). Dried berries were kept in bags woven from vegetable fibers. These bags were always covered with designs, mostly of geometric patterns, although realistic designs, as elk, deer, thunderbirds, and water spirits, all unquestionably property marks, were frequently used. There were two types of bags, that closely woven (*p'a^{a}*) (pls. 32–36), just mentioned, and matting bags with fairly large openings in the meshwork (pl. 37). Food stored away at home was generally placed in a part of the lodge reserved for the purpose.

262 *A Winnebago menu.*—To give an idea of the favorite dishes of the Winnebago, the names of several mentioned in one of the myths are here appended: Small dried corn boiled with bear's ribs; jerked meat with bear's fat; deer's fat; deer's grease frozen in a hole in the ground; dried corn boiled with fruit; deer-loin soup.

412 415 [177] *Cooking and eating utensils* (pl. 38).—With regard to the kind of cooking and eating utensils used in the old days there exists even among the Indians themselves considerable difference of opinion. According to some, their ancestors never used wooden utensils, mills, spoons, and plates, but utilized shells of various kinds or other natural objects suitable to their needs. Others state, on the contrary, that, in early times, in addition to such natural objects, wooden vessels of many kinds were fashioned from maple knots. These are said to have been burned out, a very tedious process, or even to have been cut out with adzes. It is quite impossible to decide this question now. Wooden implements and utensils in great variety are, of course, found among the Winnebago at the present time, but these are supposed by many to have been introduced by the neighboring Algonquian tribes and by early French traders. The main contention of the present-day Winnebago is, however, that their ancestors could never have made this woodenware without the aid of European implements, burning out being a tedious and unsatisfactory method.

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It might be said that all recollection of the making of wooden vessels could easily have been lost in the last century or two and that therefore too much weight should not be given to present ignorance of the subject. There are a number of reasons, however, why ignorance in this particular case might be significant. First, many indications point to workmanship of a low order among the Winnebago in the manufacture of artifacts; second, there are many suggestions of two cultural strata in this tribe; third, while the Winnebago in Wisconsin still use wooden vessels, many of them claim that these were introduced; and fourth, all the informants who gave this information were old people. If the author were to hazard an hypothesis, it would be the following: In very early times few objects were fashioned out of wood, but gradually contact with the Menominee led to the introduction of many wooden vessels, and finally the acquisition of European axes, knives, and other implements made it possible to manufacture such vessels in large numbers. A similar explanation was offered by an Indian with regard to the use of dugouts.

Besides wood as a material for dishes and spoons of various kinds and sizes, shells were utilized, while sticks served as knives.

All informants agree that neither bone nor stone were used in the manufacture of utensils.

For cooking, clay pots were used. These vessels, most of which were very large, with round bottoms, always hung over the fire. The material used in their manufacture was blue clay found at Green Bay, on or near the site of St. Paul, Minn., mixed with shell shards, glue from sturgeon vetrebrae, and the gelatinous substance in the horns of the deer.[1] The addition of these ingredients greatly increased the cohesiveness of the clay. The material was either molded with the hands or in holes of the desired shape dug in the ground and lined with leaves. Finally, the vessels were dried over a slow fire in small kilns constructed for the purpose. None of the clay vessels were provided with handles. Some were ornamented with geometric patterns. The irregular incised designs on some Winnebago vessels are the impressions of grass blades with which the mold was lined.[2]

Fire making.—In former times fire was always made by means of a simple fire drill. This method is still used for ceremonial occasions.

Tanning.—The author never witnessed the process of tanning. The description obtained agrees exactly with that of Mr. A. Skinner here quoted:[3]

> After the skin has been removed, the hair is scraped from it. During this process the skin is hung over an obliquely inclined log, one end of which has been smoothed

[1] One informant gave a description of pottery making in which a wheel was used, but as no other Winnebago corroborated this statement the author is convinced that it is inaccurate.

[2] Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. pt. IV, pt. II, pp. 319-320.

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The Wolf Clan

INTRODUCTION

614 173 Three versions of the origin myth of this clan were obtained. The second is the most interesting, for it gives the popular account of descent from the clan animal-ancestor, although it claims that he, in turn, was created by Earthmaker. One other important characteristic is the statement that the original clan ancestor married a human being and that from them the present members of the clan trace their descent. A similar type of descent is mentioned in a number of myths that can best be interpreted as village origin myths. The ownership of war bundles has also at times been linked up with descent from some spirit.

614 Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear, however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

[823] Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge.

[682] If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

[582] According to one informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born, to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

[796] The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the

[262 252] clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.

ORIGIN MYTHS

FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 [823] In the beginning the Wolf clan people came from the water. Therefore their bodies are of water—i. e., their sacred possession is water. There were four male wolves and four female wolves, and as they came up from the sea and swam toward the shore, one after the other, they caused waves to go before them. Therefore one of

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CHAPTER XIII

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES BASED ON BLESSINGS FROM SPIRITS

Society of Those Who Have Received Blessings From the Night Spirits

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan: Once a man went hunting so that he might be able to get the game with which to give a feast. All of those who were to participate in the feast went along with him. After they had killed some deer they built a lodge. Then all the other feast-givers came into the lodge, bringing something toward the feast, as well as the tobacco which they were to offer. Some brought other things, even dogs, as their contribution to the feast. The dogs would be killed, singed, then boiled, and prepared in the same way as the deer. The meat would then be mixed with dry corn. The attendants, who were generally the nephews of the feast-givers, would look after the boiling of the food. Every time they gave a feast they selected these nephews to do the cooking and the general work connected with this ceremony.

The nephew who acts as attendant accompanies a feast-giver on the warpath, where likewise he has to endure a great deal. Should his uncle be killed, it is his duty to be killed likewise and not to return home.

He acted in this way because of his love for his uncle. The attendants do all the work whenever their uncles give a feast. They also arrange for the place where the feast is to be held; make the four invitation sticks; blacken them with charcoal and decorate them at the ends with fine and fluffy white eagle feathers. Then they prepare a bundle of tobacco containing about a pipeful. After these preparations have been made one of the nephews goes around the village and presents the invitation sticks to every individual who had been blessed by the Night Spirits. These are called the night-blessed children. The night-blessed children thanked the messengers and assured them that they now felt they were obtaining life. Then those to whom the invitation stick had been presented go around asking their relatives to accompany them to the feast. There the guest and his relatives would meet at the appointed time. All those who received invitation sticks do the same.

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114 796 [795 778 614] people attend as a matter of courtesy, or to keep peace in the family. It was my good fortune to attend such a meeting, a war-bundle ceremony, in October, 1927. Mr. A. White, whose Indian name is *Teas-tca-he-de-ga* (Big Wave), figure 120, is custodian of the war-bundle of the Thunderbird clan of the Wisconsin Rapids band of Winnebago. Word came to me through his son-in-law, Mr. U. S. White of Milwaukee, that a war-bundle feast would be held shortly, and that I was specially invited to attend.

As Mr White and his family also wished to make the trip, we drafted a Museum car into service and joined forces. In addition to Mr. White and his wife and two children, Mr. Alton Fisher was persuaded, without much difficulty, to join me in representing the Department of Anthropology.

We arrived at Wisconsin Rapids late at night, and were up early on the following morning and on our way to the site selected for the [574] ceremony. Upon arriving at his home, we were courteously received by the custodian of the bundle, and privileged to meet his family and many others who were in the midst of preparations for the feast.

796 [776 614] The regular war bundle ceremony of the Thunderbird clan is a feast and dance given in honor of various spirits, chiefly the Thunderbirds, who are the spiritual directors of war, and the Night Spirits. It is held in an oblong wigwam shaped like the medicine lodge of the Winnebago and neighboring Algonkin groups, figure 121, and similarly [346] constructed of a frame-work of bent poles covered with birch bark or mats, or more recently with canvas or other cloth. Big Wave had directed the construction of the lodge for this particular ceremony in an area immediately adjoining his dwelling lodge, figure 122. The single door was placed at the end of the lodge, facing east.

● [252] The lodge was small, made so to accommodate the limited number expected to attend, and consequently it was decided to cook the feast over outside fires, an irregular, though not unusual procedure. Therefore, only a single fire was built in the lodge, centrally situated at the 796 eastern end not more than three paces from the door. Since the fire 372 was to be new, sacred fire, the ceremonial fire-making equipment from 778 the war bundle was employed. This consisted of a flat, rectangular base of oak, nearly perforated in many places with charred drill holes, and a drilling element of softer wood. Big Wave himself officiated in the fire making, figure 123. Kneeling, he placed the basepiece between his knees, with tinder conveniently near. Then one end of the drill was fitted into one of the holes in the base, and the shaft was rapidly rotated between his hands. Soon smoke curled up from the point of friction. The bits of glowing wood dust so produced were quickly applied to the tinder and carefully blown to a small flame. Then light kindling was applied, followed by heavier sticks until the fire was be-

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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yond the need of further nursing. Standing alone above this altar, Big Wave then offered, in his native tongue, a prayer to be carried upward by the fire to Creator. In a low voice he thanked Creator who taught the use of fire to the Indians, that it might live with them forever and watch over them. He expressed satisfaction that new fire had been started on this occasion, so that all present might enjoy the benefits of life. He described the fire as an interpreter, conveying to the spirit world the prayers of men. He then sprinkled tobacco upon the fire, saying: "This tobacco I offer you (the spirits) that you may do that which I ask of you, that you may grant to all here, our wives and children, and all our relatives, good fortune and all the benefits of life. This prayer is for others who will also give tobacco."

Later, when the meeting was convened and the guests filed into the ceremonial lodge, many silently sprinkled tobacco on the fire, thereby sharing the benefit of this prayer. This tobacco sacrifice is called, filling the spirits' pipe.

As soon as the new fire was burning well, coals were removed therefrom with which to start the cooking fires outside the lodge, for the feast must be cooked over sacred fire. Two short poles were placed on either side of the fire, topped by a crosspiece from which the pots were suspended on chains. Water was boiled, with which all the pots were thoroughly washed. Then the meat (fowl, beef and pork) was prepared for cooking. The fowls had to be singed over the sacred fire. A definite number of equal portions were placed in each pot, since each participating family was to share the contents of a single pot which, therefore, must contain a portion for every member of the invited group.

While the war-bundle owner's helpers, the waiters, selected from his paternal nephews when possible, were preparing the feast, he himself entered the lodge, took down the war-bundle from where it hung on the north wall opposite the fire and spread it out on the ground immediately west of the fire. Although much of the contents of the bundle appeared to be very old, the cover-piece was of cloth. The bundle was unrolled and spread out upon this rectangular piece of goods. The inner wrapper was of matting. Upon this a variety of fetishes and elements of ceremonial equipment was displayed. These included various bird skins, reed whistles and an old fire drill set which had long been out of use due to the fact that the base piece was entirely covered with holes, without interval, and as deep as the thickness of the piece would permit.

Two beaded snake-skin fetishes were suspended from the top of a peeled stake set up between the bundle and the fire. Adjoining this a sharpened stick, later to be used as a meat fork in distributing the meat, was placed, the handle thrust into the ground. Two fine old war clubs from the bundle were also placed between fire and bundle, their handles thrust into the ground. Two bowls, one containing tobacco and the

§11. *Wandering and Hunting*

After a while I used to get into the habit of going to town When I got there I would look into the barrels to see if there was any food in them and if there was I would fill my pockets with whatsoever I found. I used to steal a great deal. [159* 685]

About springtime we always moved away from the vicinity of the town. We always moved to the place where my father intended to trap, generally to the neighborhood of some farming community where there were few Indians. There my mother used to make baskets and sell them to the farmers. We also used to circulate a written petition asking for any help people cared to give us. Whenever they went on this kind of a trip I always went along with them, for sometimes people would take pity on us and give us some old clothes. Sometimes we would even get a good meal at some farmer's house. For these reasons I was always envious of those who went along on such journeys. [159* 221 224 285 439 648]

Occasionally when we got many provisions I had to carry some of them, but I never minded that. When the birds returned north father used to make us bows and arrows and we would then shoot at them and often kill many. We also used to kill squirrels which my grandmother roasted for us. My older brother was a [803 224 252]